/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

● [751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun. Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

[44 cont.]

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from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kŭi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.

[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

Circulatory Diseases

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278
751

As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

751 824 825 Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

752 (411) (278)

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 751 Some doctors claimed to be immune to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[47 cont.]

pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place, first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa, the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[50 cont.]

than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly successful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths: one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ǂam /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein
411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments,
[114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [276] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[51 cont.]

411 751 penetrate the flesh itself and introduce much more poison into the wound. The Bushmen try to protect themselves against this treacherous, but apparently frequently used weapon by attempting to immunize themselves against the poison. During a period of from three to four weeks they make small incisions on the crown of the head, which they keep open in order to rub increasingly greater doses of poison into the wounds. The consequences are purportedly symptoms of a more or less serious nature, with fever and vomiting."

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The Mandrake Root (1)

1. In this connection cf. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens [Dictionary of German Superstitions], Vol. I. The principal source for the medieval superstition is a passage from the history of the Judaic War by Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.). He writes (Bellum judaicum, VII, 6, 3; works translated by Cotta and Gfõrer, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 762): "The valley that encloses the city of Machärus on the northern side is called Baara and produces a root of the same name. It is flaming red and in the evening throws out red rays; it is very difficult to tear it out because it withdraws from the person approaching it and remains still only if one pours urine and blood flow (menstrual blood) on it. Even then death is certain to result from any contact unless the entire root is carried away in the hand. One can also get it in another way, namely: One digs around it in such a way that only a small part of the root remains hidden; then a dog is tied to it, and when the latter tries to follow the person who has tied him, he pulls

[51 cont.]

000 out the root, but dies on the spot as a sacrifice taking the place of the person who wants the plant. Once one has it, there is no longer any danger. People take so much trouble to get it because of its following peculiarity: the demons, that is to say, evil spirits of wicked human beings who enter into the living and kill them unless help is quickly given, are driven out by this plant as soon as one so much as brings it near the patient."

751 754 824 756 It comes from a little bush (/gui-sa). It does not occur in the Bushman region visited by me, but farther to the north. It is only found accidentally. When the doctor wanders through the bush, he sometimes hears low talking. Soon he sees a track resembling that of a snake and showing traces of blood. The root walks upright on this track, like a stick. He may not attack it, because he would die immediately; instead he attempts to approach from the direction in which the magic root is walking, opens the medicine bag, and lets the little mandrake walk in. Then the bag is firmly closed and at home is hung on a tall tree. The mandrake may not be taken into the hut. Something like blood drips out of the bag. Early the next morning a great fire is made; women and children and everyone assemble, each one bringing his little buck horn to obtain from the doctor some of the medicine coming from the mandrake. The medicine is rubbed on the skin. Bushmen who live among the Whites may not take this medicine because they will become sick from it. -- The medicine or the magic that is given out by the mandrake has little effect on those who were treated in the manner described above, [52] but it has considerable effect in other cases. This medicine is used to kill enemies through magic at a distance. When a doctor goes to a horde that does not yet have this medicine, he carries the horn filled with it around his neck. Some of the mandrake's magic poison passes into anyone who looks at him.

754 When the doctor sits down, anyone who has looked at him keels over and dies unless he is helped. If this person is an enemy, the doctor simply goes away and does not trouble himself any

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great captain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out. Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

776 821 [752]

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 [782] 823 821

The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either privately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone, rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

[224] [777]

751 821

When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The person struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 [756] 796 People turn directly to the great captain when they need rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539]

!garǻ gurí dee oa ǂam	Why does it not rain?
Ǿʼuá dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǻm khui hē	The sun is hot.
!kŭng-ná gurí /gŏá /gŏá	Will man live?
//gauǻna tani /gee ǂgáo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hŏŏ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gŏě !kung /n̄ a //gŏě	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǻ //goě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā m tam ná /n̄ gěě	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 789 787 796 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting. The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of [775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
● (751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

372 *hei-doros*. The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case [32] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield 622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
● [751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
777] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *//norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

the */hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the */hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *//gãus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with fore-finger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by treading on the place where a menstruating */gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be */gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the */hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*/u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a */gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the */gari-khois oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries. [841] [751] [882]

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *//gãus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother. 883 [841]

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the 881 [221]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: /*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The !Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted religious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and misfortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send */Gauwa* or the */gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood, together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down. After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail. Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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773 776 [821] Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer, but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention [751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 825 821 825 [789] The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole, and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 1–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; idem, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

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while those dying a "good death" go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159; Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, XX, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead, heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal, through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

278 The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported
752 by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation.
[114] The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison, the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made in the upper arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing
[114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be received with caution. Chapman, a careful observer whose hunting expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite. This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "eokam" by the Bushmen, but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. "They also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that "doctors" sometimes render themselves

[1] Op. cit., ii, 182. [2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212–13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 139. [5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.